DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 245 825 PS 014 410

AUTHOR	Brewer, Graeme
TITLE	The Impact of Work on Family Functioning: A Review of the Literature. Occasional Paper Number 3.
INSTITUTION	Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne (Australia).
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-642-87855-2
PUB DATE	Sep 83
NOTE	51p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Editor, Institute of Family Studies, 766 Elizabeth Street, Melbourne, Victoria 3000, Australia.
PUB TYPE	Information Analyses (070)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Day Care; Dual Career Family; Early Childhood Education; Employed Women; *Employment; *Family Life; *Family Structure; Foreign Countries; Income; Leisure Time; Literature Reviews; *Unemployment; *Working Hours
IDENTIFIERS	*Australia; Industrial Health

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to examine the connection between work and family functioning in Australia by critically reviewing relevant literature, especially literature concerning empirical research. Special attention is given to Australian literature and data. However, where local material is lacking, information from overseas (frequently American) is used to extrapolate cautiously to the Australian situation. Because of the broad nature of the subject, the review of literature is not comprehensive in all aspects of work and family functioning; however, where data are incomplete, recommendations for research are proposed. Sections of the paper focus on (1) income in relationship to work force participation and children's life chances; (2) the impact of fathers' and mothers' paid work on the functioning of children and on the allocation of household tasks; (3) social-psychological and economic impact of unemployment on individuals and families; (4) hours of work, including part-time work, outwork and casual work, flexitime, and shiftwork; (5) industrial health; (6) child care; and (7) leisure. (RH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED245825

Occasional Paper Number 3

THE IMPACT OF WORK ON FAMILY FUNCTIONING

A review of the literature

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☒ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

Graeme Brewer

PS 014410

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Inst. of Family Studies

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Graeme Brewer works as a freelance researcher. Much of his work has been in the areas of poverty and unemployment.

September 1983

© Institute of Family Studies —
Commonwealth of Australia 1983

Institute of Family Studies
766 Elizabeth Street
Melbourne 3000 Australia
Telephone (03) 342 9100

September 1983

National Library of Australia
Cataloguing-in-Publication data

Brewer, Graeme.
Work and families.

Bibliography.
ISBN 0 642 87855 2.

1. Family. 2. Work.
I. Australia. Institute of Family Studies.
II. Title. (Series: Occasional paper (Australia. Institute of Family Studies); no. 3).

306.8'5

Typeset by Bookset, Melbourne
Printed by Globe Press Pty Ltd
Designed by Andrena Millen

Contents

INTRODUCTION 5

INCOME 6
Economic determinants of work 6
Income and life-chances of children 7

WORKING VERSUS NON-WORKING 9
Determinants of dual-working 9
Impact of dual-working families on children 11
Allocation of domestic roles 12
Work and family formation 14
Dual-working and relevant policy 15

UNEMPLOYMENT 17
Social psychological impact within families 17
Economic impact 19

HOURS OF WORK 20
Part-time work 20
Outwork and casual work 21
Flexitime 22
Shiftwork 24

INDUSTRIAL HEALTH 29

CHILD CARE 31
Availability of child care 31
Care of sick children 33
Child care provision overseas 34

LEISURE 36
Work influences on leisure 37

CONCLUSION 40

REFERENCES 41

Occasional Papers is a new series designed to present research on a variety of subjects pertinent to the Institute's research program. Many of the Occasional Papers will be produced as a result of work commissioned by the Institute.

Copies of the papers are available from the Editor, Institute of Family Studies, 766 Elizabeth Street, Melbourne, Vic. 3000, Australia. Telephone (03) 342 9100.

Titles in the Occasional Paper series are:

No. 1 New information technology: impacts on families in Australia
No. 2 Survey of practices: Section 63, Family Law Act
No. 3 The impact of work on family functioning: a review of the literature

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the connection between work and family functioning by critically reviewing relevant literature, especially that concerning empirical research. Special attention is given to Australian literature and data. On many issues, however, the paucity of local material necessitates a concentration on overseas (frequently American) information from which extrapolations to the Australian situation may sometimes cautiously be drawn.

Because of the broad nature of the subject, the review of literature is by no means exhaustive. Nonetheless, it is clear that the literature is not comprehensive for all aspects relevant to work and family functioning and, where data are incomplete, some recommendations for research have been proposed.

The paper deals with the interaction between paid work and family functioning from the perspective of structures of the family, such as division of household labour; and with regard to mediating structures, such as child care, which affect both intra-familial functioning and industrial behaviour. Thus, work and family functioning are viewed dynamically. Each has an impact on the other with several mediating structures being part of the dynamic as well.

Income

Economic determinants of work

Several overseas studies have examined the reasons underpinning workforce participation from the perspective of the family. Decisions regarding wives' labour market entry are often emphasised.

Within the British context, McNay and Pond (1980) report that among low-income workers, the lower the husbands' pay the more likely were wives to join the workforce. A study by the British Department of Health and Social Security carried out by Hamill (1978) found that the number of families with an income below the official poverty line would have been three times as large were it not for the contribution of wife's earnings.

Drawing on a more middle-income sample in the United States, Thomson (1980) concluded that while part-time female employment is considered to be more compatible with the parental role than full-time employment, mothers of young children are motivated towards full-time employment for economic reasons.

> Part-time employment appears to be motivated primarily by the opportunity to participate in intrinsically enjoyable activities, while full-time employment is motivated by economic requirements'. (p. 562)

Since this study was based on the employment expectations of mothers of young children, rather than actual workforce activity, its findings must be viewed circumspectly.

In a related study, Ewer, Crimmins and Oliver, (1979) using a path analysis, suggest that wives' patterns of working are more consistently affected by family circumstances than vice versa:

> Wives leave employment in response to increases in husband's income and in response to the birth of children. They return to work in response to their children reaching the ages of 2 to 4 years. (p. 736)

Spitze and Waite's study (1981) supports this view. They conclude from their male attitudinal study that husbands' attitudes towards their wives' working are not based

on general notions about fulfilment or women's roles, but on family needs. Ewer and others (1979) observe, similarly, that wives work primarily in response to perceived family financial needs rather than for reasons of self-actualisation. Not surprisingly, working for personal satisfaction has been found to be more common for women with no children, women with tertiary education and women with husbands whose earnings are above average (Rosenfeld and Perella, 1965). Such women tend to be in careers or work for reasons that need not be economic. Hafstrom and Dunsing (1978) and Gordon and Kammeyer (1980) also report that the determinants of wives' working for monetary or non-monetary reasons differ according to family income and in the predicted direction.

As opportunities expand for women to achieve higher status jobs, such findings may be expected to weaken. The research shows not so much a sex-based distinction about the primary motivation for work — since few commentators would doubt that it is other than economic for men also — but indicates the lower status and stability of women's employment. Increasingly, women (like men) seem motivated to continue working even when the financial need has passed. Whether their influx into part-time rather than full-time work reflects fundamentally work opportunities or (family-based) choice remains a question for social researchers.

There may also be some growth in the number of 'house husbands', depending on the extent to which pay and work opportunities become more equal for men and women. In her case study of 15 Australian couples who had reversed their orthodox roles, Harper (1980) observed that all except one of the women had professional careers; most were teachers. The possibility of reversing or interchanging work and domestic roles for economic reasons is more likely to be confined to professional couples drawing good salaries. In keeping with the majority of decisions about dual-working in lower income families the need to guarantee economic sufficiency is paramount.

When women do drop out of the labour force for reasons of childbirth or child-rearing, the interruption in their accumulated work experience reduces their labour market value. Cogan and Berger (1978) argue that the average wage rate over the life cycle of a woman with no children is significantly higher than for women who leave the labour force during the infancy of their children. Since the maximum difference in wage rates occurs while the children are still young, and family income needs are high, the impact of this phenomenon on family functioning will sometimes be telling.

Income and life-chances of children

Several studies have demonstrated the effect of family income (usually indicated through father's occupation) on educational attainment of children. Thus, family income emerges as a major determinant of life-chances of the next generation.

The additional costs of keeping a child in full-time education are well recognised. Hence, as the Commission of Inquiry into Poverty in Australia (1976) discovered, social class is strongly linked to the nature and extent of use of educational services. An Australian study by Schonell, Roe and Middleton (1962) revealed that the children of professional and administrative workers were over-represented among university entrants, while children of semi-skilled and unskilled workers were grossly under-represented. Although the former group comprised only eight per cent of the general population, 42 per cent of university entrants came from such families; semi-skilled and unskilled workers comprised 35 per cent of the general population, but only 3.5 per cent of children from those families were to be found among the university group.

While 56 per cent of 'gifted' children with professional or semi-professional fathers went on to university, only nine per cent of such children whose fathers worked in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs proceeded to university. Enormous differences in educational attainment thus occurred between social class groups even when intellectual ability was held constant.

Supporting evidence is provided from a study by Wright and others (1978) that formed the basis of a submission to the Commision of Inquiry into Poverty. Of those young people in the sample with professional fathers, over half gained their Higher School Certificate, compared with only six per cent of those whose fathers were semi-skilled or unskilled workers. Of the 73 per cent who left technical schools at Form 4 or earlier, two thirds moved into unskilled or semi-skilled jobs or joined the ranks of the jobless.

Williams and others (1981) also found that:

> The social and economic attainments of one's parents have marked effects on one's own life-style and life-chances [and] . . . doing well in school and seeing oneself as above average in this respect both contribute to the probability of aspiring to a white-collar occupation. (pp. 59 and 90-91)

Seemingly, one's experiences even in primary school years emerge as important precursors of occupational status and, therefore, of life-chances for one's family in the next generation. Since, as Williams and others point out, school and family influences are both of enormous importance in shaping future job expectations and job entry, future studies in this area could profitably focus on the interactive effects between school structures, such as resources, and family structures, such as income, in determining educational and occupational options in adulthood.

Working versus non-working

Traditionally, mention of work versus non-work* has given rise to discussion of the vexed issue of labour force participation by women. More recently, the rapid rise in the level of unemployment and the spectre of a large, permanent pool of jobless people has drawn attention to the concept of non-work.

This section focuses on the impact of fathers' and mothers' [paid] working on the functioning of children and on the allocation of household tasks. As well, it discusses attitudinal determinants of decisions about dual-working; the interaction between fertility and decisions about work; relevant policies; stress and benefits emanating from dual-working; and prospects for the future.

Determinants of dual-working

The expectation that men will work is embedded in society and internalised by both males and females during their educational and psychological development. Unless prevented by factors such as physical injury or labour market conditions, men almost invariably pass from education to the permanent workforce. There status is then derived substantially from the nature of their work, and their presence in the workforce is expected to be uninterrupted until the point of retirement.

The socialisation of women does not lead to such a clearcut outcome, particularly since workforce status continues to be seen by many people as incompatible with, and inferior to, the role of motherhood. Notwithstanding the fact that those factors which affect the role of mothers as parents and workers have their parallels in male roles, questions on the issue of the connection between work and family functioning are directed more towards women than men. This seems to be the case, also, because of a prevailing tendency to view issues impersonally rather than in structural terms. Discussions of the parenting role generally focus on personal obligations rather than on community resources. Thus, attitudes are crucial in determining social and parental roles.

* Non-work throughout this paper refers to unpaid work.

On the issue of the desirability of maternal employment, Quinn and Staines (1977) report that men with no spouse at home or with a working wife tend to agree with the statement that 'a mother who works outside the home can have just as good a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work'. Women overall agree more strongly with the proposition, while men with wives at home disagree with it. Such data need to be treated circumspectly due to the tendency to rationalise one's own position or to support one's group position. Among husbands in the sample, however, it can be argued that, since women usually spend some time out of the workforce during the children's formative years, those with (eventual) working wives have a more informed view. They are able to perceive any changes in the mother-child relationship occasioned by the mother rejoining the workforce; those whose wives remain permanently at home are able only to guess at the consequences for the children of their wives combining motherhood with a working role.

Several studies show that husbands' attitudes towards their wives' working (or their wives' perceptions of those attitudes) strongly predict wives' workforce status (Weil, 1961; Morgan and others, 1966; Astin, 1967; Spitze and Spaeth, 1976). Spitze and Waite (1981) set out to discover the nature of the relationship between husbands' attitudes and wives' employment. Using data from an American probability sample, they conclude that husbands' attitudes towards their wives' working hinge not on notions about women's roles but on family need.

> Husbands' attitudes are revised during the early years of marriage to conform to wives' attitudes and preferences. In time, wives do act in accordance with their perceptions of husbands' wishes . . . the wife's attitudes apparently cause more revision in her husband's perceived attitudes than vice versa . . . bringing their wives' employment into line with their own preferences could be costly, but a change in attitudes is cheap. (p. 123)

Other studies by Ferber (1978) and by Crimmins-Gardner and Ewer (1978) indicate that women's work patterns and plans were considerably more influenced by their own attitudes than those of their husbands. Seemingly, men's attitudes are prone to change in the direction of wives' attitudes, especially when economic considerations are paramount. Ferber's work is important, too, in showing that attitudes and behaviour may influence each other. Both husbands' and wives' current attitudes were influenced by the wife's employment history, but not by the spouse's previous attitude.

Increasingly, it seems, workforce participation by Australian women is considered to be acceptable. Thomson (1980) noted that young, working mothers in the United States 'are relatively unconcerned about normative sanctions'. Hurwitz (1977) argues that for some migrant women in Australia there are, however, special difficulties. Although personal conflicts about the balance between working and parenting are certainly not confined to overseas-born women, they are generally more severe for women coming from highly patriarchal countries. For women from countries with relatively more conservative values about sex roles, a decision to join

the labour force, albeit for economic reasons, occasions a greater degree of role conflict. Women gain a greater degree of social and financial autonomy as a result of paid work. In turn, this raises the question of division of household tasks and challenges traditional societal values.

Locksley (1980) concludes from her analysis of US national survey data that 'dual-worker marriages do not significantly differ from single-worker marriages on a variety of indicators of marital adjustment and companionability' (p. 345). A survey of attitudes by Rossiter (1980) shows that the British are not so sure. A quarter of the 536 respondents believed that the changing role of women was a significant cause of the increase in divorce. While 69 per cent believed that 'mothers going out to work is good for women', 75 per cent thought it is 'bad for children', and 71 per cent thought of it as 'undermining the family'.

Impact of dual-working families on children

Until fairly recently — except in times of war — the debate about the impact of dual-working on children has been couched in terms of the effects of material employment on childhood development (or deprivation). As Bronfenbrenner and Crouter (1981) have observed:

> . . . research on maternal employment was preoccupied almost exclusively with detecting effects on the behaviour and development of children. Studies of the impact of working on the mother herself emerged only gradually, and the possibility that maternal employment could influence the ways in which fathers behave toward their children has still to be explored systematically. Moreover . . . maternal employment has been conceptualized . . . as an empty act bereft of any structure or content that might be significant for the mother's role as a parent. (pp. 3-4)

On top of the biases inherent in the research designs, there was rarely any adequate control for relevant variables, such as social class. In her review of the literature on working mothers, Stolz (1960) uncovered three sound experimental studies and concluded that:

> There was no statistical relation . . . between maternal employment and delinquency (Bandura and Walters, 1959), adolescent adjustment (Nye, 1963), school marks in high schools (Nye, 1959) and dependent-independent behaviour of five-year-olds (Siegel et al 1960). (p. 773)

Some confusion reigns over whether maternal employment has a differential effect on the development of boys and girls. Hoffman (1959) found that teachers rated the sons of non-working mothers as more independent than sons of mothers who worked outside the home. Supporting evidence comes from Hand (1957). It is to be expected however, that teachers and others would be influenced by prevailing notions about the impact of maternal employment on childhood development and that such a mental set could contaminate their subjective ratings.

Later American research (Banducci, 1967; Brown, 1970; Gold, Andres and Glorieux, 1979) also suggests that maternal employment undermines academic achievements of sons in middle-class but not in low-income families. The evidence

is not conclusive and such an effect may derive from the age of the child, the nature of the mothers' work or the families' social status. For example, a study on adolescents of working mothers conducted by Gold and Andres (1978) found no significant sex differences on achievement tests, academic results, or on educational and occupational aspirations. Several studies show that working mothers expect their school-age children to take on more responsibilities around the home (Douvan, 1963; Johnson, 1969; Walker, 1970; Propper, 1972). Given sex-role expectations that generally demand this of girls in any case it is possible that the employment of the mother and her concomitant need for extra domestic help may divert boys relatively more from independent school or play activity.

The imbroglio of research in this area is perhaps inevitable given that maternal employment has usually been treated as an independent variable outside a family or social context. The behaviour of children has been perceived simply as a consequence of maternal employment. What is needed is research that controls for factors such as job satisfaction, motivation for working, length of employment, socio-economic status of families, division of household labour, age of children, family size, child care facilities, and so on. Since no single experimental study can control for such a host of factors, a case study approach may prove more valuable, at least in the first instance. Such an approach would focus neither on women nor men, but upon the nature and processes of work and family functioning, emphasising their interactive features.

Allocation of domestic roles

Family systems theory has predicted changes in the distribution of domestic work, given changes in the level of paid work by women, and these predictions have been borne out partly. Although the evidence is not consistent, it appears that the influx of women into the workforce has been paralleled by a moderate shift in the domestic roles of their husbands.

Several studies, (for example, Rapoport and Rapoport (1971)), have involved structured interviews with small samples of husbands and wives pursuing dual careers. These studies have shown that the husband's career generally takes precedence over his wife's, and that, the wife's career is secondary both to that of her husband and to the needs of their family. Thus, the domestic burden usually falls on the wife.

Using representative data based on household interviews with dual-working couples in Detroit, Moore and Sawhill (1978) report that men share little of the unpaid domestic work. The allocation of household tasks continued on traditional sex-role stereotypic grounds despite an upsurge of female employment outside the home. This has implications not only for the structure of authority within the home, but moreover, for the distribution of time on domestic chores. Cooking is a daily activity while mowing the lawn occurs less frequently. If the allocation of tasks

continues to be determined according to sex-role stereotypes, the burden on women in dual-worker families will remain substantial.

On this matter, however, Kamerman (1980) concludes from interview data on dual-working families that:

> The traditional division of household tasks along gender lines continues, although significant changes seem to have occurred . . . the most significant change revealed in our study is the move from the assignment of exclusive responsibility for tasks to one or another gender, toward increased sharing and role 'equity' in the home. (p. 64)

Where a sense of equity prevailed, women described their marriages and household as much happier than otherwise. The direction of causality is, however, uncertain.

Following interviews with professional and non-professional women in their late child-bearing years, Beckman and Houser (1979) report that all groups of women in the sample divided tasks in traditional sex-role ways.

Overall, although the literature indicates a traditional allocation of household tasks, there is a growing tendency towards change in the distribution of time spent on household tasks.

Blood and Wolfe (1960) found that successful career-oriented men do very little in the way of household tasks, but when wives worked the husbands' share of domestic chores increased markedly. A study by Ericksen, Yancey and Ericksen (1979) discovered that:

> Couples in which the husband did not have a high income, the wife was highly educated, and there were no children under 12 or in which there were local kinship networks, were all more likely to have shared work roles. (p. 308)

High-income husbands were considerably less likely to do housework than low-income husbands. This study used a large probability sample in an urban area of Philadelphia. It is noteworthy that its measure of the extent of role sharing was based on actual task performance. As Berk and Shih (1980) observe, couples are fairly likely to agree on their individual contribution to stereotypic 'male' and 'female' tasks, but to perceive far greater contribution for themselves than is attributed to them.

Three impediments to further change in the division of household labour have been found in the literature. First, Bohen and Viveros-Long (1981) report that only about a third of the women in their study wanted their husbands to spend more time on domestic chores. Secondly, and relatedly, as Lein (1979) reports, pressure from male peers may be exerted to restrict a change in the allocation and performance of 'womens' work'. Thirdly, as Harper (1980) has noted in her Australian study of 'house husbands', further changes in education are needed so that skills of child care, cooking, and so on, are 'transferred' to boys as well as to girls.

Without down-grading the importance of attitudinal issues and community education it would seem that the strongest catalyst for recent shifts in the division of labour within the household has been behavioural. The increasing entry of women into the labour force has altered their status, relative to men, and provoked renewed consideration of the distribution of work-time, if not roles, within the household.

Work and family formation

The question of the interaction between fertility, family size and labour force participation has been raised in terms of whether women involved in their work limit family size as a consequence, or whether decisions to limit family size make it easier for women to join the workforce. Do decisions about family size or about involvement in work primarily determine the finding of a negative correlation between fertility and female employment? As Scanzoni (1979) has pointed out: 'work and family size are not simply a correlation at a fixed point in time' (p. 739). Decisions about work and family size may be taken independently or integrally. The basis of such decisions within the family are also likely to vary over time.

In the Scanzoni study interviews were conducted with 427 married women. The same group of women was interviewed again four years later. The research indicates that the important predictor of female employment is age of child rather than family size. Thomson (1980) and McNay and Pond (1980) conclude that both decisions about part-time and full-time employment are strongly related to the age of the youngest child. However, the age of the mother at the time of bearing her first child does not appreciably affect labour market experience over the course of the woman's life (Cogan and Berger, 1978). As well, decisions made early in marriage about work and family formation tend to persist. In that light Scanzoni (1979) contends:

> Given the lingering 'consequences' of bargains struck prior to and early in marriage pertaining to interlocking work and fertility patterns, the question becomes, can we identify features that influence both the early tastes and the early 'bargaining'? (p. 747)

Short-term employment appears not to inhibit future child-bearing plans (Thomson, 1980). Further Ewer, Crimmins and Oliver (1979) claim that there is no evidence to show that early work experiences 'set into motion a chain of events which will result in lower completed fertility and in increased levels of future work' (p. 747).

The consistent finding that highly educated women have smaller families (and more satisfying jobs) stresses the importance of including social class as a variable in research on work and family formation. The social (and financial) costs to well educated women (and men) of leaving the workforce for domesticity are sizeable. For working-class families the economic consequence of being outside the workforce may be relatively greater. Studies in this area therefore need to account for factors such as job satisfaction, career aspirations and family earnings and expenditure.

As well, they may benefit from social class comparisons since the decision-making process about work and family formation is likely to be strongly influenced by work options and socio-economic factors.

Dual-working and relevant policy

Many laws and social attitudes have been predicated on the assumption that women will be (or ought to be) based at home rearing children and financially dependent on their spouse. The view that single-worker marriages offer the greatest functional utility has been virtually reified by sociologists such as Parsons (1955). Thus, a mainstream of academic thought has comfortably co-existed with (and reinforced) the dominant social ideology. The law on social security has been framed on the same premise — of the male breadwinner and the female dependant. Yet paradoxically, unemployment benefit, that social security payment most closely linked to work is paid on the basis of family status rather than workforce participation.

Partly because of this the labour market has been substantially divided on sex grounds and women have tended to be consigned to the secondary labour market wherein they derive less satisfaction and financial recompense, and are demonstrably more vulnerable when the economy turns down.*

The influx of women into the labour force since the early 1960s and their politicisation through this process has increasingly drawn attention to structural features that hinder or promote dual-working. This has led to the development of anti-discrimination legislation and infrastructures in child care, for example, so that parents may successfully combine responsibilities at home and at work. While significant changes have occurred within the Australian context, the spearheads of change have been elsewhere. The International Labour Organisation (1980) notes that several countries — Austria, Spain, Japan, Poland — give special employment assistance to job applicants with several dependants. France, USSR, Spain, Bulgaria and Hungary give special preference to women (usually with several dependants) in allocating places for job training. Such discrimination does, of course, raise social and economic questions. In Australia, at present, it is young females (usually without dependants) who have the highest rate of unemployment; older workers (often with grown-up children) suffer the longest duration of unemployment. Accordingly, it often becomes extremely debatable as to which families or individuals policies primarily should be directed.

* See figures from the Australian Bureau of Statistics publications titled: *The labour force Australia* (Catalogue no. 6203.0). Alford, K. (1981), 'Women and the Australian labour market: recent changes and trends,' in *Women and taxation*, Proceedings of the Conference on Women and taxation, National Status of Women Committee, United Nations Association of Australia, Melbourne.

Bronfenbrenner and Crouter (1981) point out that:

> The introduction of changes in the structure of work and associated support systems . . . will enable more fathers, as well as mothers, to develop alternative work schedules that allow them to play a substantial role in the upbringing of their children. (p. 47)

As Kohn and Schooler (1973) have demonstrated, people's psychological functioning and the nature of their work interact throughout working life. Later sections of this paper will elaborate on the interaction between features of the work environment, behaviour within families and important mediating structures.

Unemployment

Studies of the impact of unemployment during the depression years and more recently have observed that being idle through the absence of work is qualitatively different from being at leisure (see further discussion of leisure later in this review). As Jahoda (1979) has recently noted:

> Our study (published in 1933) showed that being unemployed is very different from having leisure time. The unemployed decreased their attendance at clubs and voluntary organizations, the use of the free library, their reading habits. Their sense of time disintegrated. (p. 492)

Field research in this area indicates that boredom, diminished self-confidence, social isolation, anxiety and depression flow from unemployment. Several studies focus only on the individual unemployed person; however, inferences may be drawn on the repercussions for other family members. The isolation and penury that accompany unemployment mean, as Hill (1978) describes:

> For the family man, this [unemployment] means that the family itself becomes the main source of social contact and therefore the major social setting within which the stresses of unemployment are experienced and dealt with. (p. 120)

The family home is probably the usual locus for unleashing and resolving tension; but for unemployed people its centrality is accentuated due to the loss of normal social outlets, not least of all the work-place itself.

Social psychological impact within families

One of the ironies for unemployed people is that at the time of needing to lean on the family for support, more than usual, the emotional and financial stocks of other family members are at a low ebb. Brewer (1980) reports, from a longitudinal case study of 31 Australian unemployed people, several aspects of family tension arising out of joblessness. Parents demonstrated ambivalence in their response to unemployed children, sometimes confusing boredom or stolidity with malingering. Spouses were generally more supportive of unemployed partners, although tension due to factors such as economic insufficiency or moping around the house all day were commonplace. Sometimes, to try to compensate for the unemployment of a family member, another worked under unusual strain, doing overtime, for example,

to make ends meet. Tension because there was not enough family income was an habitual finding.

Recent survey work in an outer metropolitan area of Melbourne (Brewer, 1982) provides confirming evidence:

> Young people, unemployed people with dependants and older unemployed workers all reported, overall, deteriorating relationships. As well, parent-child relationships suffered, except for older unemployed workers with independent and, presumably, more mature and aware children. And people with dependent children reported a deteriorating marital relationship.
>
> Young unemployed people typically reported pressure from parents who were not empathetic about their joblessness . . . some unemployed people with dependants reported that they had more time to spend with their families and that this led to 'more understanding' and 'improved relationships'. Typically, though, there were increased strains. (p. 29)

Windschuttle (1979) cites evidence of correlative relationships between unemployment and divorce rates, child abuse, wife battering, crime rates, physical ill health, mental illness and suicide rates. Clearly, non-work has a dramatic impact on individual and family functioning, although the degree to which unemployment per se is a causal variable rather than, say, lack of income, is equivocal. From his review of relevant material Windschuttle argues a range of causal relationships. O'Brien and Kabanoff (1979) and Brewer (1980) suggest that the physical and psychological deterioration in many of their respondents seems to be caused by unemployment rather than vice versa. A sharp drop in mental stress following re-employment was an important indicator of this, although variables such as income may still be more critical.

Figueira-McDonough (1978) asserts that the depressive reactions of her respondents appear to be exceedingly normal, that is, objectively based, and can be expected to be reversible if secure employment is found. Those unemployed people in the sample who were able to get adequate help in meeting their daily needs were, predictably, less depressed.

In Canberra, Finlay-Jones and Eckhardt (1981) had 401 unemployed people aged from 16-24 years complete a psychiatric screening test. A weighted sub-sample was examined by a psychiatrist, as well. About half the total sample was deemed to have a 'severe psychiatric disorder'. As with other studies, depression was by far the most common problem. The authors conclude that, in the majority of cases, there was no evidence of any stress apart from unemployment itself.

A control group study by Cobb and Kasl (1971) tracked the health of unemployed men. Blood pressure rose progressively and fluctuations in blood uric acid showed a similar pattern. Considerably greater ill health was found among jobless men than among their employed counterparts.

Ideally, research into the effects of unemployment requires a sample of employed

people matched on demographic, personal and occupational variables with a sample of unemployed people studied at intervals after losing their jobs (or leaving school). Factors of cost and high attrition rates make this a difficult task. Borrero (1980) undoubtedly is correct in saying of unemployment studies that: 'because of their time delay [the studies] have tended to confuse the effects of unemployment with the effects of poverty' (p. 916). Due to the immense drop in individual and family income for unemployed people it is inconceivable that matching on this crucial income variable could occur with those individuals or families drawing a stable income from full-time work.

Economic impact

In studies of the effect of unemployment, Brewer (1980, 1982) has shown that all categories of jobless people report that the income they derive from unemployment benefit is insufficient for meeting individual or family needs. Families with dependent children experience the greatest economic pressure. Savings are typically meagre and access to a social network with resources appears rare. In the 1982 study over half the interviewees stated that a close family member had also been unemployed, usually in the past few years and often for a long period of time:

> . . . people frequently reported cutbacks in food, especially meat. As well, expenditure on items such as clothing or leisure activities for the family were reduced severely. (p. 11)

Two thirds of respondents with dependants reported trouble in keeping rent or housing repayments up to date.

The far-reaching and negative impact of non-work on family functioning has also been outlined by Borrero (1980):

> Just as unemployment affects individuals, husbands and wives, so does it affect children. During prolonged periods of unemployment, the child, not unlike other members of the family, must do without clothing, medical care, entertainment and often food. (p. 930)

In an earlier American study of unemployment, Ginsberg (1943) concluded that in 80 per cent of the families one or more children showed evidence that their psyche had been damaged due to the father's unemployment.

A vast number of Australian families is currently affected by unemployment and most are demonstrably in dire straits. In such a situation it has been argued by O'Brien and Kabanoff (1979) that:

> research will need to concentrate not simply on describing the consequences of unemployment but also on means for reducing or even preventing these consequences. (p. 153)

Despite the scale of unemployment in Australia, research, whether policy-oriented or otherwise, is surprisingly scarce. Joblessness is now being experienced by very large sections of some communities and this may be found to alter substantially the experience of families that are directly affected. Community-based case studies and longitudinal, experimental studies would fill some of the gaps in data and form a basis for policy analysis and development.

Hours of work

The recent economic decline in Australia has featured a loss of full-time work in the manufacturing, recreation, entertainment, construction and wholesale and retail industries (see Prosser, 1981). Some growth has occurred in finance and business and in the community service sector. The overall growth in jobs during the past decade has been much lower than previously.

Part-time work

Most of the limited growth has occurred in part-time positions, particularly for married women. The distribution of part-time work differs on grounds of sex, age and industry and the rate of part-time employment is highest among women in their family formation years. For men, part-time employment is concentrated among younger and older workers (possibly students and semi-retired people).

No doubt part-time work with adequate conditions and pay admirably suits many people, especially professional and semi-professional women who combine work and family responsibilities and who have a secure economic base. However when the growth in part-time employment occurs in a deteriorating economic climate, Gallagher (1978) observes that:

> Part-time work may function to reinforce the segmentation of the labour force by sex, age, ethnicity, occupation and industry . . . increasing part-time employment may entrench inequalities.

Voluntary part-time employment patterns within some families will undoubtedly enhance role-sharing and family functioning. Where it is involuntary, part-time employment will often consign families to full-time poverty.

Current labour market conditions mean that an unusually high percentage of workers are unable to exercise an option for full-time work. Yet, as Hurstfield (1978) has contended:

> The popular image of the part-time worker is of someone who is of only marginal significance in the labour force, who does not attach much importance to her work and who does not therefore deserve the same pay, conditions or respect as full-time employees. This stereotype is further reinforced by the myth that women work part-time merely for 'pin money' to spend on household luxuries.

A survey (cited in Hargreaves, 1982: 172) of part-time female workers in a middle-class area of Melbourne found that only 53 per cent of regular part-time workers had an entitlement to holiday pay and 43 per cent to sick pay. Among working-class women (and men), or in rural areas, the conditions attached to part-time work may well be less favourable still.

While the extrinsic rewards of part-time work are clearly less than those derived from full-time employment, the intrinsic rewards may be more similar. On this subject, however, Hoffman and Nye (1974) report that full-time employed women are more satisfied with their jobs than are part-time employed women. Using a sample of white American women, Thomson (1980) concluded that full-time employment is more prone to be motivated by economic requirements.

In an economic climate where there is increasingly less choice about the number of hours one may work and as full-time jobs become more prized, any disparity in the level of job satisfaction among full-time and part-time workers is likely to widen. However, little is known about the ramifications of this in the economic and psychological functioning of family groups. In fact, few analyses of the interaction between any aspects of work and family functioning appear to have been undertaken.

Outwork and casual work

Many families resolve the conflicting demands of work and child-rearing by deciding (or as a result of finding no other option in the labour market) to confine maternal employment to occasional or home-based work.

Outworkers are employed to carry out work at home by commercial firms or by intermediaries. Such work exists predominantly in the clothing industry, but includes, also, light assembly and packing operations, envelope addressing, typing and sales promotion and better paid occupations such as freelance journalism and computer work.

It almost goes without saying that outwork essentially involves women. The International Labour Organisation (1980) reveals that in Japan, for example, only seven per cent of outworkers are males. In Switzerland men account for 10 per cent of outworkers. Although no figures have been found to describe the Australian situation, it seems likely to be in line with the aforementioned nations. A Melbourne study by the Centre for Urban Research and Action (Storer, 1978) indicates that local outworkers tend to be migrant women with child care responsibilities. All of the women interviewed for this study stated that their income was a necessary part of family income and that in a fifth of these families the husband received irregular earnings.

As marginal, isolated and generally non-unionised labour, outworkers, in common with casual, seasonal workers, are particularly vulnerable to exploitation. As

Hargreaves (1982) has argued, such workers are normally paid at piece rates; work unpredictable hours; often miss out on casual pay loadings; have no redress if they are improperly paid; lack entitlement to holiday and sick pay; and are especially susceptible to changes in the market-place. There is no body, as exists in Austria for example, to regulate the conditions under which outwork is performed. As a result, outworkers in Australia, struggling to combine work and family responsibilities, are frequently under enormous stress.

The Centre for Urban Research and Action (1978) found that several outworkers put in long hours for very little economic reward. One Greek machinist, for example, received $75 per week for 50 hours of labour. In half the cases the outworker had to collect her pay in her own time. Most outworkers purchased and maintained their own machines and cleaning up was unpaid time. Typically, housework or outwork began between 6.00-7.00 a.m. and finished between 10.30 p.m. and midnight. Children and husbands also participated after school or after conventional working hours in outwork to help the family meet its commitments.

In these circumstances of social isolation, unrelieved work and the stress inherent in long hours of poorly remunerated piece-work, an incalculable burden falls on outworkers. Such work diminishes the families' economic difficulties somewhat, but severely constrains family functioning and, for the outworker allows for virtually no social interaction beyond the family itself.

Flexitime

Although flexitime arrangements vary across countries and industries, usually they allow workers to begin anytime between 7.00 a.m. and 11.00 a.m. and leave anytime between 3.00 p.m. and 7.00 p.m. In some cases workers must still be on deck for eight hours each day; in other cases workers have an upper and lower limit of 'credit' or 'debit' hours and may take a full day off work if sufficiently in credit.

Flexible working hours are largely the prerogative of white-collar workers. The high level of interdependence between workers on an assembly line, for example, does not permit the same flexibility of hours compared with office workers, say, in a large insurance office. In a study of members of the Electrical Trades Union, Burns and others (1974) found that some factories allowed job sharing or a four day week; however, most studies of job sharing and flexitime necessarily have used a sample of white-collar workers on above-average incomes.

Control over one's working hours has frequently been cited as a means of improving the quality of working life and of reducing the stress that is attendant upon combining work and family responsibilities. Quinn and Staines (1977) report that working mothers (51%) and single fathers in the workforce (60%) express a preference for fewer working hours in favour of spending more time with the family. An excessive amount of work (39%) and awkward work schedules (25%)

accounted for many of the problems of satisfactorily combining a working and a domestic life.

An experimental study involving completion of time-activity logs by secretarial and administrative personnel with at least one dependent child was conducted by Winett and Meale (1980). The group working flexible hours increased the time spent with the children and with the spouse; but both groups (flexible hours and regular hours) increased their hours spent with spouse and children together during the experimental period. Family-related time increased over the summer months; men from single-earner families spent less evening time with their children than did women from dual-working families. The flexitime schedule had no impact on workers' weekend activities or on the division of household labour.

The study raises interesting questions about the impact of flexitime on family functioning; however, since assignment to the experimental and control groups was not random, results need to be viewed with caution. Workers who opted for flexitime were younger, had fewer and younger children, had worked fewer years in the job and were not so constrained by transport arrangements or the work schedule of their partner. While the results may simply arise from the availability of flexitime for the experimental group, it also seems possible that the life-style of that group was more fluid, regardless of the impact of flexitime.

Drawing a sample from an agency where standard hours were worked and a comparative group from an agency permitting flexible hours, Bohen and Viveros-Long (1981) conclude that flexitime appears to ease the stress of only one type of parent: fathers whose wives are not employed. Surprisingly, employed mothers working flexible hours did not report less stress than mothers working fixed hours. Thus:

> . . . it seems likely that the complexities of combining work and family life for employed mothers probably far exceed those of employed women without children — and a modest flexitime option apparently does not help much in dealing with the related stress. (p. 130)

The employment status of the spouse was found to be a much more potent determinant of equity in family work than the type of schedule that was worked outside the home.

An opinion survey of a group of workers by Best (1981) gave respondents five equally costly options: a two per cent pay rise; 10 minutes off each working day; 50 minutes off one working day per week; five additional days of paid vacation; or a commensurately early retirement.

> Both sexes selected vacation time as the runaway first choice. However, women were more likely than men to prefer the 50 minutes off one working day each week . . . (p. 6!)

Although an overwhelming majority of workers favoured the introduction of flexitime, it appears that it may have only a marginal impact on stress-reduction and a

negligible impact on the apportionment of domestic roles. As well, to quote Bohen and Viveros-Long (1981):

> . . . flexibility in job schedules will increase time in family work only if people have jobs in which they can earn enough to support their families without excessive overtime; if the jobs are challenging and fulfilling; and if they choose to spend some of the non-work time in family life . . . more equal sharing of family work between spouses will occur only if expectations about sex role divisions of paid labour and home labour are altered. (p. 201)

Research on the connection between flexible working hours and family functioning remains to be done in Australia. What research elsewhere suggests is that it has a modest effect but that it is not consistent across families. The main effect of flexitime may well be on the level of job satisfaction rather than within the family domain. Other schedules involving overtime or shiftwork are perhaps more crucial areas for study since, ostensibly, they appear to affect the extent and quality of time that is available to workers to spend with their families to a more substantial degree.

Shiftwork

A report by the Australian Department of Science and Technology (1980) suggests that about 13 per cent of the workforce is in shiftwork. Shiftworkers tend to be concentrated in health services, transport, communications and the leisure industry. Most firms operating shiftwork systems have 200 or more employees; it is not generally feasible economically to operate shiftwork systems in smaller firms.

Based on a survey of several firms in Newcastle, New South Wales, Lee (1981) cites three principal reasons for shiftwork systems in that area: the demands of a continuous production process in, for example, steel making or in an oil refinery; the need to maximise usage of costly capital equipment as in the coal mining industry; the demand for round-the-clock services such as medical personnel, police officers and fire brigades.

In commercial centres, the proportion of the workforce engaged in shiftwork may be quite small. In large industrial centres, however, shiftwork is much more common. Thus, in Lee's Newcastle study, 24 per cent of the labour force was directly involved in shiftwork with a consequently larger number of spouses, children and friends affected in the making of family or social arrangements.

Reasons for shiftwork: A variety of motivational factors have been detected among shiftworkers, but the primary motive is economic.

In a study by the Department of Science and Technology (1980), shiftworkers surveyed in a Sydney chemical factory gave additional money as their main reason for doing shiftwork. Only a third stated that it was the sole reason; most gave quality of life reasons as well. In the Melbourne part of the same study, three distinct types of shiftworkers were postulated. An experienced group of workers with children who were relatively grown-up had taken on shiftwork due to its marginal economic

rewards, but stated, also, that they appreciated the 'time that it gave them for shopping, banking and jobs about the house'. A second group, labelled career shiftworkers, had young families and high financial needs. Their main incentive for continuing with shiftwork was the 10 per cent pay loading that applied to them on afternoon and night shifts; however, there was some evidence to suggest that they were occupying jobs more skilled than they could obtain on day-work. The third group was classified as novice shiftworkers who had taken on shiftwork in the past seven years. Apart from that this group was diverse in age and motivation for shiftwork; economic rewards competed with job security as the chief motivation. The above taxonomy appears spurious, especially in view of the small (male) sample size. Studies of the reasons for undertaking shiftwork would gain from interviews with workers over time, including at their point of entry into shiftwork. In combination with looking at time budgets such an approach would indicate whether quality of life reasons, for example, constitute a post hoc rationalisation.

Research on female shiftworkers shows the importance of decisions about child care in determining shiftwork. A study in a Melbourne working-class area by Rubinstein (1977) of female shiftworkers revealed that decisions to do shiftwork were often made so that one of the parents could always care for the children. Approximately three quarters of those women with children — mostly migrant women — stated they did shiftwork so that they could care for their children during the day or before and after school.

Family-based studies using a control group of non-shiftworkers and conducted at different intervals in the decision-making process would prove fruitful in this area. A longitudinal approach could examine the reasons leading to shiftwork and the effects that ensued.

Effects of shiftwork: Shiftwork appears to have physical, emotional and social effects on employees that are likely to leave repercussions within their family and social circles.

Maurice (1975) states that the most commonly reported physical manifestations of shiftwork are digestive disorders and disturbed sleep patterns. Sleep disturbances appear to be more pronounced for workers on rotating shifts as opposed to permanent night work. The sleep pattern becomes erratic as a consequence of disruption to the body's circadian rhythm and the lack of a soundproof room necessary for shutting out day-time noises.

Tiredness, irritability, constipation and heartburn were mentioned as ill effects by shiftworkers in the Department of Science and Technology study. However, reports of the impact of shiftwork on health were mixed, with only a minority of interviewees giving these outcomes as a syndrome associated with shiftwork.

In the study of female shiftworkers by Rubinstein (1977) 50 per cent of those women who were working three shifts per day complained of nausea or disturbed dietary patterns due to the difficulty of adjusting to a constantly changing routine. Fourteen per cent reported more difficult or less regular menstruation since being on shiftwork; a fifth stated that they habitually took sleeping tablets, anti-depressants or analgesics.

Studies with control groups of other workers are needed to determine to what extent such symptoms are actually caused by shiftwork. The primary cause of many outcomes that have been suggested as being correlated with shiftwork may, for example, be due to economic difficulties which had prompted people to take on shiftwork. In such situations, domestic tension is likely to be high at the outset due to distressing financial problems. Maurice (1975) suggests that there is:

> . . . a degree of constraint felt by shift workers, even if only purely subjective in character . . . (and) . . . that this feeling of alienation may contribute towards the development of psychosomatic disorders. (p. 56)

Several aspects of alienation among shiftworkers are objective facts. This is perhaps most clearly illustrated by the temporal separation of shiftworkers from mainstream social activity. A study by Staines and O'Connor (1980) found that when they analysed their results on a variety of dimensions, workers on afternoon or night shifts showed the highest level of work-leisure conflict. Since football matches, films, pub'ic drinking with friends or family, and so on, occur within fixed periods of time, shiftworkers are automatically excluded from a large number of social events. In these circumstances it becomes very difficult to maintain or develop relationships with family members and friends. As Lee (1981) points out:

> . . . the value of free time depends in large measure on the activities . . . available in it; hence, shiftworkers on the night segment may have free time during the day, but these times have little exchange value for social activities if the rest of the adult population is working. (p. 6)

The Department of Science and Technology found that most wives of male shiftworkers interviewed reported positive aspects of shiftwork — assistance with shopping and child care, use of car during the day. It also found that shiftworkers and their wives tended to lead separate lives and sought more time together with the children, especially at weekends. Most respondents outlined several detrimental effects of shiftwork on family life — lack of useful social time; irritability with children due to lack of sleep; anxiety about leaving a wife and young children alone at night; inability to maintain connections with clubs and relationships with friends.

Maurice (1975) notes, too, that the daily rhythm is organised in relation to meals, work and sleep. Either shiftworkers have to disrupt their rhythm further by waking up for family, or spend less time together with the family at such core times. Caillot (1959) reports that nearly all families changed their pattern of living as a result of the fathers' shiftwork. Ulich (1964) stresses the interference of shiftwork with sexual relations and fulfilment of parental duties.

Just as disturbance of sleep patterns among shiftworkers is a function of family size and housing conditions, so, too, is the disruption of social life a function of the size of the town and its proportion of shiftworkers. As Maurice (1975) observes:

> In small towns where shiftworkers constitute an appreciable proportion of the working population, local bodies have to arrange cultural and leisure activities to fit in with the workers. (p. 106)

Maurice reports that young workers and wives of shiftworkers felt most strongly the difficulty of making new friends and maintaining family and social ties. This raises the question of whether older shiftworkers have lower social expectations or grow more resigned to their relative social isolation. Shiftworkers report the impossibility of enrolling for educational courses and a proclivity for solitary leisure pursuits such as gardening, animal breeding and do-it-yourself tasks.

Not only are shiftworkers in many ways excluded from normal family and community life, but they often find it extremely difficult to plan ahead. This is especially the case for workers on a rotating rather than permanent shift system. In some work situations, for example, at some ports, workers do not know to what shift they will next be assigned until their current shift is finished. This, of course, makes any planning virtually impossible. Mott and others (1965) report that workers on rotating shifts demonstrate the greatest dissatisfaction. They feel frustrated in attempting to meet their obligations and fulfil their roles both in their family and in their wider social milieu.

The literature typically shows broad detrimental effects of the shiftwork system. Notwithstanding this, many workers are able to identify minor advantages of shiftwork for family functioning while finding it detrimental overall. Similarly, within the industrial context, shiftworkers sometimes express a preference for late afternoon or night shifts. In the study by the Department of Science and Technology (1980) it was noted that there were fewer bosses about on these shifts, thus leading to a greater degree of autonomy at work than on day shifts. Within the chemical industries*, a benefit noted was that it is relatively cooler manufacturing hot products by night than by day.

For dual-worker families with children, shiftwork often presents significant difficulties in arranging child care especially when husbands and wives are not able to work opposing shifts and care for children themselves. As previously noted, many parents choose shiftwork so as to alternate the care of children between them. Since child care centres do not operate at night, there are major difficulties for workers on rotating shifts and for single parents whose job security or prospects may sometimes depend on undertaking shiftwork.

* The Department of Science and Technology study focused on the chemical industry.

Problems of shiftwork have been addressed principally as outcomes for workers rather than as problems of industrial organisation. As Maurice (1975) writes:

> Shiftwork has emerged . . . as providing an outstanding illustration of the economic and social contradictions associated with the development of industrial society: it leads to a distribution of time between hours of work and hours off that demonstrates the conflict in this regard between economic and social requirements, and it expresses in exemplary fashion the gap between the purely chronological concept of time as it is experienced by workers and which, depending on circumstances, may be a time of self-liberation or alienation. (p. 93)

Studies of the impact of shiftwork need to pay heed to the industrial context as well as to the behavioural outcome for workers, their families and friends. In that way research findings are more likely to indicate not only the behavioural manifestations of shiftwork, but the options for industrial change, as well, that might reduce the personal and social costs to shiftworkers.

Industrial health

Just as the nature of workers' shifts finds its reverberations in family functioning so, too, do those conditions of employment determining workers' health. Yet, the issue of industrial health and its impact on the lives of workers and their families appears to have received scant attention. In completing a book with the generic title *Health and Australian society*, Hetzel (1974) does not refer to the question of industrial health.

Community health and industrial conditions are clearly interlocked when one considers, for example, the level of pollution in cities, particularly in heavy industrial areas. The growth of industrial society is viewed as having both advantageous and detrimental effects on community health. By way of example, as Powles (1980) has pointed out, increased consumption levels arising from greater purchasing power have generally reduced the vulnerability of children to fatal infection, and are associated in adults with lower death rates from infections such as tuberculosis and pneumonia. On the other hand, increases in degenerative diseases such as ischaemic heart disease (especially in males) is associated with the way of life in industrialised countries like Australia.

In discussing the connection between stress illnesses and occupational life, it has often been contended that the incidence of such diseases will now increase for women as a consequence of their entry into the workforce. In an examination of the impact of work on stress levels in a sample of 725 Canadian workers, Northcott (1980) found that age, sex, marital status, age of youngest child and work status fail to predict substantial differences in levels of stress. For married women combining a paid job with domestic work, the benefits of work apparently offset the health costs:

> The finding that married women who raise a family and work outside of the home have lower psychophysiological distress levels than women who keep house suggests that the stresses of the traditional male work role have been "exaggerated" and that a convergence of male and female mortality statistics may not occur as a function of women entering traditional male roles. (p. 402)

As a caveat, however, it should be noted that the study defined work status as full-time or part-time work (or housekeeping) rather than the nature or level of

occupation. Studies of the potential of workforce activity to induce stress compared with that of housekeeping would benefit from sampling that matched each group on social class and psychological factors, and incorporated a before-and-after assessment of married female workers. Earlier work by Hoffman and Nye (1974) also concluded that: 'Insofar as physical health is concerned, employed mothers as a group appear healthier than housewives' (p. 209).

Hall and Gordon (1973) report, however, that employed women experience more psychological conflict than women in full-time domestic roles. Halse (1978) also indicates the presence of guilt and anxiety among women attempting to combine work and domestic commitments. Along with Otto (1980), Halse cites several industrial factors that promote alienation or fatigue: for example, lack of autonomy at work; working at high speed; poorly designed industrial equipment. Of the interviewees in Otto's study, 80 per cent said that it was difficult to relax, given the amount of their work and home chores.

Storer (1976), Bordow (1977) and other writers have noted that migrant workers frequently go in want of written, multi-lingual safety instructions. As they are over-represented in blue-collar jobs they are, therefore, especially vulnerable to industrial injury. Several hundred deaths and several thousand injuries resulting from industrial accident each year have an untold, dramatic impact on the functioning of families. Since industrial conditions exercise such a potent influence on family functioning, further policy-oriented research on this can only be of value.

Child care

Among the profound changes in workforce composition in recent years has been the growing representation of women with pre-school children. This has occurred in dual-worker and single parent families.

In discussing women's labour force participation in Britain, Layard states that:

> . . . among women, otherwise similar, those with a youngest child under 3 have a participation rate 67 per cent lower than [married] women with no child at home. Women whose youngest child is between 3 and 6 have a participation rate that is 42 per cent lower . . . Once the child is 6 or over, its presence in the house seems to have relatively little effect on the mother's work. (Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys, 1979).

Earlier discussion has dwelt further on the relationship between fertility and work-force patterns. Smith-Lovin and Tickamyer's (1978) study supports a conclusion that fertility affects labour force participation but labour force participation does not determine current or expected fertility.

In the light of these findings and trends it is evident that, for families, child care is a core component in decisions about work.

Availability of child care

Child care usage revolves around formal care arrangements (child care centres, pre-school centres); informal care (neighbours, social network); and parental care. Other options such as on-site care at work-places are virtually non-existent in Australia.

Reports such as those by Brennan (1982) and by Sweeney and Jamrozik (1982) outline funding arrangements, relevant policy and usage for child care. Sweeney and Jamrozik report differences in use of facilities according to workforce status of parents. Among children not at pre-school or school the rate of informal to formal care was relatively higher among children of employed parents:

> These differences suggest that parents who were employed had found informal care arrangements more suitable to their daily routine, probably on the grounds of flexibility, availability and cost. (p. 22)

Among working parents using formal care:

> Formal centre care was the type of care most used by employed parents, especially those in full-time employment. Where one parent was employed pre-school was the most commonly used. (p. 27)

Families on higher incomes were found to use both formal and informal care more than low-income families. Only small differences were found between use of child care by Australian-born and overseas-born parents.

In a study conducted by Burns and others (1974) in the electrical trades industry it was found that Australian workers tended to use private child-minders while Greek and Italian women were more likely to rely heavily on relatives. Hargreaves (1982) suggests that the reason such a phenomenon has occurred is because:

> Centres, like schools, have usually been set up and staged by English-speakers who have automatically dealt with food, activities, relationships and so on according to Anglo-Saxon Australian cultural values which have been confusing for the children and threatening for the parents. (pp. 265-266)

In terms of the general use of child care facilities by working parents there is a clear tendency to use informal arrangements. Arguably, this reflects an abiding preference for informal arrangements rather than the actual dearth and quality of formal arrangements.

Any shift towards industrially-based rather than community-based child care would also alter the pattern of usage among working parents, having the advantage of enabling parent-child contact during some breaks in work and during commuting time. Against this, children may have to travel longer distances, the environment may be unsuitable for them, and eligibility for public funding or subjugation to public regulation is not clearcut.

Currently the limited availability of child care facilities makes competition for places high, thus jeopardising the situation of some dual-working parents and prohibiting opportunities for further entry into the labour market among others. The detriment and anxiety for many dual-workers is indicated by findings such as that of Burns and others (1974); only eight per cent of those mothers in their sample using private minders actually preferred that form of child care.

In an attitudinal study in America by Presser and Baldwin (1980), 'close to one out of five mothers with pre-school age children and not in the labour force said they would be looking for work (or employed) if suitable child care were available' (p. 1205). Even allowing for a difference between attitudes and behaviour, the figure is very high.

Kamerman (1980) makes the point that parents without a strong, informal family support system are particularly badly placed. In her American study of 205 working mothers with very young children, the mothers were usually in close contact with

their extended families and relied on the family network considerably more strongly than on their broader social network. Neither family structure nor occupational status was found to influence the dominant mode of child care that was used. The inadequacy of child care provision caused almost two thirds of the families to use two or more types of care; 28 per cent used four to six arrangements. The negative implications for work stability are apparent when such juggling of child care arrangements is necessary. Kamerman observes that:

> Regardless of which way the questions were posed, and regardless of the race or occupations of the women responding, the basic answer was always the same: Child care is the central problem and concern of working mothers. (p. 99)

Care of sick children

The conflict between work and family responsibilities becomes especially aggravated when a child is too ill to be left in child care. The question of who cared for sick children of working parents was explored in an unpublished study conducted by Forbath and Painter in the inner-urban, working-class area of Collingwood, Melbourne, in 1979-80. Data have been only partially analysed on what happened to the 701 children involved in the total sample, however in the winter period of the survey it was found that there were:

- 253 days on which the mother missed work to care for a sick child (100 children involved);
- 17 days on which the father missed work to care for a sick child (nine children involved);
- 42 children were left alone when sick;
- the remainder were either looked after by a sibling or went to school sick because there was no one at home to mind them.

Wannan and Henderson (1980), from a survey in a similar suburban area in Melbourne, support the finding that parents generally stay at home to look after sick children. In so doing, they generally forego their entitlements to sick leave (and may jeopardise their security of employment). Some employers allowed unpaid leave. Over the 12-month survey period each interviewee lost about 2¼ working days due to illness of children. In the United States Quinn and Staines (1977) found in their study the same family trend: in about 80 per cent of cases wives in dual-worker families stayed home with any sick children.

These findings confirm earlier discussion about the tendency of women in dual-worker families to retain primary responsibility for domestic tasks and for an equal distribution of tasks to be rare.

Migrant women in the study by Burns and others (1974) in the electrical industry suggested that a sick-bay be attached to the local school as a solution for children who were not seriously ill. Like other women in this and other surveys they make a practice of staying home from work when a child was sick or arranged to work

alternating shifts with their spouse.

Policy provisions referred to in the literature regarding the response of some overseas countries to this and other child care needs are outlined below.

Child care provision overseas

On the question of caring for sick children at home Kamerman (1980) points out that some European countries allow parents a specified number of days of paid leave as an employment benefit. Mackie and Pattullo (1977) list Poland and Sweden as countries where either parent can take time off to care for a sick child. Hungary provides for mothers or single fathers in the workforce to be at home with a sick child for up to 60 days per year. Italy, West Germany and East Germany are also cited as nations that allow mothers to take some time off to care for ill children.

In regard to parental leave coinciding with childbirth, Kamerman (1980) writes that the average period of leave in northern and eastern Europe is six months. Sweden provides nine months. And along with Norway it provides for fathers under a 'parent insurance' that operates through the social security system. This benefit, like the paid maternity leave, is available to parents at childbirth, or at the time of adoption, to allow them to remain at home to care for the infant. The Swedish parent insurance covers nine months with 90 per cent wage replacement and job protection for either parent. The insurance can be taken pro rata and used to cover part-time work, too. Kamerman and Kahn (1978) comment that:

> Gainfully employed parents are entitled to apportion mutually seven months of 'child leave' as they see fit . . .the fathers also share the right to ten days a year when they can stay at home with sick children. The law makes it easier to uphold the equal parental responsibility on the labour market. (p. 41)

Referring to Sweden, Bohen and Viveros-Long (1981) note that parents may work six-hour days until their youngest child is eight years old. Their pay is reduced, but without jeopardy to their job.

The International Labour Organisation (1980) observes that working mothers in Poland are entitled to two extra days of annual leave each year. Hungary, France and the German Democratic Republic make similar provisions for working mothers.

With respect to pre-school provision, Brennan (1982) notes that in Australia it is high (85%+) in both Territories and in the least populous States. But that:

> . . . New South Wales and Victoria have only about 40 per cent and 59 per cent coverage respectively. In many European countries including France, West Germany, Sweden, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic over 90 per cent pre-school coverage was achieved by the early to mid-1970s. These countries have now turned their attention to the provision of high quality services for children under three years of age. (p. viii)

Brennan argues that in terms of coverage, policy development and financial commitment to children's services, Australia lags well behind. In endeavouring to throw

light on the reasons for this, Sweeney and Jamrozik (1982) contend that, in contrast to kindergarten which has been accepted as a developmental form of care or education — as a universal need or right, 'child care had been, and continues to be, perceived as a substitute for the "real thing", as a rather regrettable necessity' (p. 115).

Benefits such as parent insurance are clearly intended to enhance the position of dual-worker families and others and to pave the way for a reallocation of domestic tasks. No data have been discovered on the take-up rate of such benefits. Control group studies would prove useful on those qualitative differences that may occur in work and family functioning when child care is readily available and satisfactory, compared with when it is low-grade and inaccessible.

Leisure

In reflecting upon leisure, writers have often been baffled in attempting to arrive at a working definition of the term. Researchers undertaking a recent survey in Adelaide (Metropolitan Adelaide recreation study 1976), differentiated between 'essential' and 'non-essential' shopping excursions in their endeavour to distinguish between 'leisure' and 'non-leisure'. In this sense 'leisure' approximates free and pleasurable time; 'non-leisure' is part of the domestic routine. Functionally, of course, shopping excursions frequently involve elements of both leisure and domesticity.

As Mercer (1981) observes, 'it is virtually impossible to compartmentalise such behaviour into the traditional activity boxes of the time budget researcher' (p. 38). This point is underscored by Corrigan (1979) in his discussion of the 'dialectics of doing nothing' among British working-class youth. While there are some structured leisure activities such as discotheques and sporting events, 'mostly time is spent hanging about doing nothing' (p. 7).

Even within 'leisure time', a sizable proportion of it is absorbed in activities such as eating, travelling, fulfilling domestic obligations and so on. Mercer (1981) declares that such tasks 'erode the available stock of free time so that what is left as genuine leisure is often quite nominal.' This explains why:

> . . . lack of time is invariably given as the most significant reason for people not engaging in a wider range of recreational pursuits or not devoting more time to their preferred leisure activities. (p. 45)

The concept of leisure is traditionally viewed as opposite to the concept of work. In practice, the boundaries are blurred, at least by domestic work. And leisure and work may contain elements of each other.

If, as De Grazia (1964) suggests, 'leisure is a state of being free of everyday necessity' then it is integrally tied to the demands of work and the economic and personal freedom that may flow from work. With this in mind, Wilensky (1970) has been critical of students of family life and leisure for losing sight of the significance of the economic order:

> Most of the studies of leisure concentrate on the residential community or some recreational activity within it (card games, jazz, gardening, neighbourhood contacts, TV viewing, parties, etc.) and thereby lose sight of the line of influence from economic system and work place to leisure routine. (pp. 113-119)

Work influences on leisure

It is a popular notion that there is a strong trend towards more leisure and less work-time in industrialised societies. Perry (1977) argues from Australian, American and British data that this view is unfounded, especially since, for many workers, overtime is now a common feature of the work-week. Moreover:

> . . . the strongest determinant of the relationship between family responsibilities and commitment to overtime was found to be the wage level. While at lower wage levels there was considerable increase in overtime working with greater family responsibilities, there was little relationship at higher levels. (p. 38)

Jaakson (1979) also contends that, despite marginal reductions in employment time over the last few decades, there is not a corresponding increase in leisure time. He cites three reasons for this. First, the growth in consumption has brought in its wake a greater need for maintenance in and around the home. Secondly, if commuting time is considered as part of the work-day, there is only a marginal difference between 1900 and 1980 in the average number of hours 'worked' in large cities. Thirdly, populous cities promote fatigue and stress so that workers need a 'winding down' period before they are prepared for leisure pursuits at the end of the day.

Anotner factor that reduces the overall quantity of leisure time available for families is the tendency toward dual-working. On the other hand, the additional family income drawn from dual-working may improve the quality of leisure for many families. As Best (1981) has pointed out, the number of years of workforce activity has decreased for men. When viewed against the opposite trend for women this may signal the likelihood of increasingly shared work and domestic roles. For the time being, as Stafford (1980) has stated, mothers in the paid workforce tend to maintain responsibility for domestic work by reducing their hours of sleep and their passive leisure such as television viewing.

On the relationship between income and leisure pursuits, Rodgers (1969) found that well-to-do people are generally more active, not only in energetic pursuits but also in passive and social ones like visiting friends, or going for a drive. As Scott and U'ren (1962) have noted, higher income groups can afford wide social participation; low-income groups participate less in social activities leaving them more home-centred in their leisure.

While income is clearly a crucial determinant of leisure so, too, are the time and physical demands of the job. Accordingly, Gerstl (1961) found marked differences in recreational outlets and availability of time between three high income occupational groups — dentists, advertising executives and tertiary teachers.

Dowell (1967) shows the importance of regional differences, too, in determining leisure activities. Rural workers have a more limited selection of leisure pursuits and must often contend with isolation or long journeys to leisure centres. In a study in the Hunter Valley (Hunter Valley Research Foundation, 1979) it was found that 70 per cent of total leisure time is spent in the home environment. However, since the response rate to the 'diary questionnaires' was only 20 per cent, the findings may not be reliable.

Rodgers (1969) posits three recreational life cycle stages: single adulthood, with high disposable income, abundance of free time and good physical capacity; family phase in which income is committed and parental responsibilities are paramount; and old age. Although Rodgers' taxonomy is partly unsatisfactory, it is useful in indicating that leisure time and patterns vary through one's life. Old age, as such, seems to be no indicator of a person's quantity or quality of leisure. And vast differences in use of, and time for, leisure are likely to occur for parents of infants compared with parents of adolescents. However, Rodgers does observe that:

> At certain stages of the life cycle, and for much of the time, the family functions together as the primary recreational unit for many activities but this unity dissolves as the children grow older and become more independent. (p. 64)

Staines and O'Connor (1980) report that the degree of interference between work and leisure is significantly related to the level of parental responsibilities; parents of children under six years of age were the most likely to feel conflict. Other characteristics of work, such as time spent on the job or shift assignment were also significantly related to work-leisure interference. The conflict was also related to the number of different types of activity.

For Meissner (1971), too, the influence of work upon leisure is fundamental:

> When choice of action is suppressed by the spatial, temporal and functional constraints of the work process, worker capacity for meeting the demands of spare-time activities which require discretion is reduced . . . [and when] . . . work is socially isolating, workers reduce their exposure to situations in which they have to talk, and also spend less time in organised and purpose directed activities. (p. 260)

While the literature is clear that work exercises a potent influence over leisure, much of its impact on family functioning can only be inferred. On important questions like the influence of different occupations on the nature and distribution of leisure within families, there is a dearth of data. Systematic investigations of this and other work-leisure phenomena that have important implications for policy and planning remain to be undertaken.

Research is scant, too, on the popular assumption that decreased working hours and increased consumption have paved the way for substantial increases in family leisure. Overseas studies referred to previously cast doubt on the validity of this assumption.

Perhaps research in these areas is meagre due to the difficulty of arriving at a working definition of leisure that renders it measurable. An additional problem, alluded to by Mercer (1977), is that survey results may be easily rendered relatively unreliable by changes in the economic climate. Such problems are not peculiar to this field, however, and need not discourage investigations. Indeed, they are especially important if as Greenberg (1958) contends, occupation defines 'central life interest' and, 'leisure — even for those who do not work — is at bottom a function of work, flows from work, and changes as the nature of work changes' (p. 62). The ways in which this dynamic operates and its impact on family functioning require further elaboration.

Conclusion

This review of literature on the impact of work on family functioning has focused on the following key areas: income and work; unemployment; causes and consequences of dual-working; child care provision; hours of work, notably shiftwork; industrial health; and leisure.

In many of these areas there is a paucity of information on the linkages between work and family functioning. Some important issues, such as the impact of retirement on family relations and behaviour, have not been addressed in this paper due to the virtual absence of any systematic data. Much of the available data is drawn from correlative studies conducted overseas. As well, it is regrettably rare to find studies that view the family as a sub-system operating within a wider social syestem. Accordingly, research perspectives are too often narrow and fail to reflect complex interactive features within and beyond the family dynamic.

Through this paper certain areas requiring research in the future have been identified. No doubt, the reader will be able to pin-point many other gaps in data that call for small-scale studies or large-scale, perhaps longitudinal, research. In this light Bronfenbrenner and Crouter (1981) have proposed that:

> The paradigm of choice for future research is one that incorporates a minimum of two links: the first assesses the impact of work on family functioning; the second illuminates the extent to which differences in family functioning associated with work status affect the behaviour and psychological development of the child. (p. 40)

To this end, account must be taken of aspects of socio-economic position such as each parent's occupation, education and contribution to family income. As Otto (1975) points out, each of these factors differentially modifies the impact of parental work. Research along these lines within the Australian context would contribute to empirical knowledge and provide a necessary basis for sound policy formulation.

References

ASTIN, H. S. (1967) 'Factors associated with the participation of women doctorates in the labour force'. *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, November, pp. 240-246.

AUSTRALIA. Commission of Inquiry into Poverty (1976) *Poverty and education in Australia: fifth main report*. AGPS, Canberra.

AUSTRALIA. Department of Science and Technology (1980) *Shiftwork in Australia: a study of its effects*. AGPS, Canberra.

BANDUCCI, R. (1967) 'The effect of mother's employment on the achievement, aspirations and expectations of the child'. *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, vol. 46, pp. 263-267.

BANDURA, A. and WALTERS, R. H. (1959) *Adolescent aggression*. Ronald Press, New York.

BECKMAN, Linda J. and HOUSER, Betsy Besak (1979) 'The more you have the more you do: the relationship between wife's employment, sex-role attitudes and household behaviour'. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 160-174.

BERK, Sarah Fenstermaker and SHIH, Anthony (1980) 'Contributions to household labour: comparing wives' and husbands' reports', in Sarah Fenstermaker BERK ed., *Women and household labour*, Sage Publications, Beverley Hills/ London.

BEST, Fred (1981) 'Changing sex roles and worklife flexibility'. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 1.

BLOOD, R. and WOLFE, D. M. (1960) *Husbands and wives: the dynamics of married living*. Macmillan, New York.

BOHEN, Halcyene H. and VIVEROS-LONG, Anamaria (1981) *Balancing jobs and family life: do flexible work schedules help?* Temple University Press, Philadelphia.

BORDOW, Allan ed. (1977) *The worker in Australi* University of Queensland Press, St Lucia.

BORRERO, M. (1980) 'Psychological and emotional impact of unemployment'. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, vol. 7 (4-6), pp. 916-934.

BRENNAN, D. (1982) *Children's services in Australia*. Family and Children's Services Agency, Sydney.

BREWER, G. (1980) *Out of work, out of sight*. Brotherhood of St Laurence, Melbourne.

BREWER G. (1982) *On the end of plank: report of a survey of a group of unemployed people in Frankston*. Brotherhood of St Laurence, Melbourne.

BRONFENBRENNER, Urie and CROUTER, Ann C. (1981) Work and family through time and space. A report prepared for the Panel on Work, Family and Community, Committee on Child Development Research and Public Policy, US National Academy of Sciences — National Research Council.

BROWN, S. W. (1970) A comparative study of maternal employment and unemployment. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Mississippi State University.

BURNS, Ailsa, FEGAN, Maureen, SPARKES, Ashley and THOMSON, Pat. (1974) 'Working mothers and their children'. The Electrical Trades Union of New South Wales, Sydney, August.

CAILLOT, R. (1959) 'Consequences sociales du travail a feu continu'. *Economie et humanisme*, no. 122, pp. 62-72.

CENTRE for Urban Research and Action (1978) *Outwork: an alternate mode of employment*, Melbourne, November.

COBB, S. and KASL, S. (1971) 'Some medical aspects of unemployment', Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

COGAN, John F. and BERGER, Franklin (1978) *Family formation, labour market experience, and the wages of married women*. Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, May.

CORRIGAN, Paul (1979) 'Out with the lads: the dialectics of doing nothing'. *New Society*, 5 July, p. 7.

CRIMMINS-GARDNER, E. and EWER, P. A. (1978) The prediction of young mothers' labour force participation and future participation expectations through use of household decision-making mod el. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Atlanta, April.

DE GRAZIA, S. (1964) *Of time and leisure*. Doubleday, New York.

DOUVAN, E. (1963) 'Employment and the adolescent' in F. I. NYE and L. W. HOFFMAN eds., *The employed mother in America*, Rand McNally, Chicago.

DOWELL, L. J. (1967) 'Recreation pursuits of selected occupational groups.' *Research Quarterly*, vol. 38, pp. 719-722.

ERICKSEN, Julia A., YANCEY, William L. and ERICKSEN, Eugene P. (1979) 'The division of family roles'. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol. 41, no. 2, pp. 301-313.

EWER, Phyllis A., CRIMMINS, Eileen and OLIVER, Richard (1979) 'An analysis of the relationship between husband's income, family size and wife's employment in the early stages of marriage'. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol. 41, no. 4, pp. 727-738.

FERBER, M. (1978) Labour market participation of young married women: causes and effects. Working paper, Department of Economics, University of Illinois, Urbana — Champaign.

FIGUEIRA-McDONOUGH, J. (1978) 'Mental health among unemployed Detroiters'. *Social Service Review*, vol. 52, no. 3, pp. 383-399.

FINLAY-JONES, R. and ECKHARDT, B. (1981) 'Psychiatric disorder among the young unemployed'. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 15, pp. 265-270.

FORBATH, B. and PAINTER, J. (1979-80) Unpublished study, Collingwood City Council, Melbourne.

GALLAGHER, Mike (1978) A critical discussion of the debate on alternative concepts for organising work. Labour Resource Centre, Melbourne.

GERSTL, J. F. (1961) 'Leisure, taste, and occupational millieu'. *Social Problems*, vol. 19, pp. 56-58.

GINSBERG, E. (1943) *The unemployed*. Harper, New York.

GOLD D. and ANDRES, D. (1978) 'Developmental comparisons between adolescent children with employed and unemployed mothers'. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, no. 24, pp. 243-254.

GOLD, A. and ANDRES, D. and GLORIEUX, J. (1979)'The development of Francophone nursery-school children with employed and unemployed mothers'. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, vol. 11, pp. 169-173.

GORDON, Henry A. and KAMMEYER, Kenneth C. (1980) 'The gainful employment of women with small children'. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol. 2, pp. 327-336.

GREENBERG, C. (1958) 'Work and leisure under industrialism' in E. LARRABEE, and R. MEYERSOHN eds., *Mass leisure*, The Free Press, Glencoe, p. 38.

HAFSTROM, Jeanne L. and DUNSING, Marilyn M. (1978) 'Socio-economic and

social-psychological influences on reasons wives work'. *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 169-175.

HALL, D. T. and GORDON, F. E. (1973) 'Career choices of married women: effect on conflict, role behaviour and satisfaction.' *Journal of Applied Psychology*, vol. 58, pp. 42-48.

HALSE, H. (1978) 'Fatigue in working women'. In *Women's health in a changing society*. Proceedings of a conference on all aspects of women's health. Volume 4: A woman's work, AGPS, Canberra.

HAMILL, Lynn (1978) 'Wives as sole and joint breadwinners.' Government Economic Service working papers number 13, London.

HAND, H. B. (1957) 'Working mothers and maladjusted children'. *Journal of Educational Sociology*, vol. 30, pp. 245-246.

HARGREAVES, Kaye (1982) *Women at work*. Penguin, Ringwood.

HARPER, Jan (1980) *Fathers at home*. Penguin, Ringwood.

HETZEL, B. S. (1974) *Health and Australian society*. Penguin, Ringwood. (2nd edition, 1976; 3rd edition, 1980).

HILL, John (1978) 'The psychological impact of unemployment'. *New Society*, 19 January, pp. 118-120.

HOFFMAN, L. W. (1959) Effects of maternal employment on the child. Paper presented at the National Council on Family Relations, Ames, Iowa.

HOFFMAN, L. W. and NYE, F. I. (1974) *Working mothers*. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.

HUNTER Valley Research Foundation (1979) *Hunter Valley leisure plan*, Newcastle.

HURSTFIELD, J. (1978) 'The part-time trap'. Pamphlet no. 9, Low Pay Unit, London.

HURWITZ, Helen (1977) 'Factory women' in Allan BORDOW ed., *The worker in Australia*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia.

INTERNATIONAL Labour Organisation (1980) Equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women workers: workers with family responsibilities. Report VI (1), International Labour Conference 66th Session, International Labour Office, Geneva.

JAAKSON, R. (1979) 'Children's conceptualization of leisure: education for leisure through time-skills'. *Recreation Research Review*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 24-30.

JAHODA, M. (1979) 'The psychological meanings of unemployment'. *New Society*, 6 September.

JOHNSON, C. L. (1969) Leadership patterns in working and non-working mother middle-class families. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Kansas.

KAMERMAN, Sheila B. (1980) *Parenting in an unresponsive society: managing work and family*. The Free Press, Macmillan, New York/London.

KAMERMAN, Sheila B. and KAHN, Alfred J. eds., (1978) *Family policy: government and families in fourteen countries*. Columbia University Press, New York.

KOHN, M. L. and SCHOOLER, C. (1973) 'Occupational experience and psychological functioning: an assessment of reciprocal effects'. *American Sociological Review*, vol. 38, pp. 97-118.

LEE, K. W. (1981) The time resource, space and environmental impact. Paper presented to 51st ANZAAS Conference, Brisbane.

LEIN, Laura (1979) 'Male participation in home life: impact of social supports and breadwinner responsibility on the allocation of tasks'. *The Family Co-ordinator*, vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 489-495.

LOCKSLEY, Anne (1980) 'On the effects of wives' employment on marital adjustment and companionship.' *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol. 42, no. 2, pp. 337-346.

McNAY, Marie and POND, Chris (1980) 'Low pay and family poverty'. Occasional paper no. 2, Study Commission on the Family, London.

MACKIE, Lindsay and PATTULLO, Polly (1977) *Women at work*. Tavistock, London.

MAURICE, Marc (1975) *Shiftwork: economic advantages and social costs*. International Labour Office, Geneva.

MEISSNER, M. (1971) 'The long arm of the job'. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, vol. 13.

MERCER, David ed. (1977) *Leisure and recreation in Australia*. Sorrett Publishing, Melbourne.

MERCER, David ed. (1981) *Outdoor recreation: Australian perspectives*. Sorrett Publishing, Melbourne.

METROPOLITAN Adelaide recreation study (1976) Fourth Australian State Planning Authority.

MOORE, Kristin A. and SAWHILL, Isabel V. (1978) 'Implications of women's employment for home and family life' in Ann H. STROMBERG and Shirley HARKESS eds., *Women working: theories and facts in perspective*. Mayfield, California.

MORGAN, J. N., SIRAGELDEN, I. and BAERWALDT, N. (1966) 'Productive

Americans: a study of how individuals contribute to economic progress'. *Survey Research Centre Monograph 43*, Institute for Social Research, Ann Arbor.

MOTT, F. E., MANN, F. C., McLOUGHLIN, Q. and WARWICK, D. (1965) *Shiftwork: the social, psychological and physical consequences*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

NORTHCOTT, Herbert C. (1980) 'Women, work and health.' *Pacific Sociological Review*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 393-404.

NYE, F. I. (1959) 'Employment status of mothers and adjustments of adolescent children.' *Marriage and Family Living*, vol. 21, pp. 240-244.

NYE, F. I. (1963) 'The adjustment of adolescent children' in F. I. NYE and L. W. HOFFMAN eds., *The employed mother in America*, Rand McNally, Chicago.

O'BRIEN, G. and KABANOFF, B. (1979) 'Comparison of unemployed and employed workers on work values, locus of control and health variables'. *Australian Psychologist*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 143-154.

OFFICE of Population Censuses and Surveys (1979) *General household survey, 1977*. HMSO, London.

OTTO, Luther B. (1975) 'Class and status in family research'. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol. 37, pp. 315-322.

OTTO, Rosemarie (1980) Alienation and stress in a restricted sample of factory workers. Unpublished paper, Canberra.

PARSONS, T. (1955) 'Sex roles and family structure' in T. PARSONS and R. F. BALES eds., *Family socialization and interaction process*, Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.

PERRY, P. (1977) 'Trends in work and leisure time in Australia' in D. MERCER ed., *Leisure and recreation in Australia*. Sorrett Publishing, Melbourne, pp. 35-39.

POWLES, John (1980) Health and the intrinsic rewards of labour. Unpublished paper, Melbourne.

PRESSER, Harriett B. and BALDWIN, Wendy (1980) 'Child care as a constraint on employment: prevalence, correlates and bearing on the work and fertility nexus'. *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 85, no. 5, pp. 1202-1213.

PROPPER, A. M. (1972) 'The relationship of maternal employment to adolescent roles, activities and parental relationships'. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol. 34, pp. 417-421.

PROSSER, Bruce (1981) 'Families and work'. *Family Information Bulletin*, no. 1, Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne.

QUINN, Robert P. and STAINES, Graham L. (1977) 'The 1977 quality of em-

ployment survey: descriptive statistics, with comparison data from the 1969-70 and the 1972-73 surveys'. Survey Research Centre, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

RAPOPORT, R. and RAPOPORT, R. (1971) *Dual-career families*. Penguin, Baltimore.

RODGERS, B. (1969) 'Leisure and recreation'. *Urban Studies*, vol. 6, p. 373.

ROSENFELD, C. and PERELLA, F. C. (1965) 'Why women start and stop working: a study in mobility'. *Monthly Labor Review*, no. 88, pp. 1077-1082.

ROSSITER, Chris (1980) *Women, work and family: a report on a survey of 'Townswomen' readers*. Study Commission on the Family, London, November.

RUBINSTEIN, Linda (1977) 'Women and shiftwork.' Western Region Council for Social Development, Melbourne.

SCANZONI, John (1979) 'Work and fertility control sequences among younger married women'. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol. 41, no. 4, pp. 739-748.

SCHONELL, F. J., ROE, E. and MIDDLETON, I. G. (1962) *Promise and performance*. University of Queensland Press, St Lucia.

SCOTT, D. and U'REN, R. (1962) *Leisure: a social inquiry into leisure activities and needs in an Australian housing estate*. Cheshire, Melbourne.

SIEGEL, A. E., STOLZ, L. M., HITCHCOCK, E. A. and ADAMSON, J. M. (1960) 'Dependence and independence in the children of working mothers'. *Child Development*, vol. 31, pp. 749-783.

SMITH-LOVIN, L. and TICKAMYER, A. R. (1978) 'Labour force participation, fertility behaviour and sex-role attitudes'. *American Sociological Review*, vol. 43, pp. 541-557.

SPITZE, G.D. and SPAETH, J. L. (1976) Labour force participation among married female college graduates. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York, August.

SPITZE, Glenna D. and WAITE, Linda J. (1981) 'Wives' employment: the role of husbands' perceived attitudes'. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol. 43, no. 1, pp. 117-124.

STAFFORD, Frank P. (1980) 'Women's use of time converging with men's.' *Monthly Labor Review*, no. 103, pp. 57-59.

STAINES, Graham L. and O'CONNOR, Pamela (1980) 'Conflicts among work, leisure and family roles'. *Monthly Labor Review*, no. 103, pp. 35-39.

STOLZ, L. M. (1960) 'Effects of maternal employment on children: evidence from research'. *Child Development*, vol. 31, pp. 749-783.

STORER, Des (1976) But I wouldn't want my wife to work here: a study of migrant women in Melbourne industry. Centre for Urban Research and Action, Melbourne.

SWEENEY, Tania and JAMROZIK, Adam (1982) 'Services for young children: welfare service or social parenthood?' Social Welfare Research Centre, University of NSW, *SWRC Reports and Proceedings*, no. 19.

THOMSON, E. (1980) 'The value of employment to mothers of young children'. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 551-566.

ULICH, E. (1964) 'Schicht-und Nachtarbeit in Betrieb: Rationalisierungs-Kuratorium der deutschen Wirtschaft.' Westdeutscher Verlag, Cologne and Opladen.

WALKER, K. E. (1970) 'How much help for working mothers? The children's role'. *Human Ecology Forum*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 13-15.

WANNAN, Lynne and HENDERSON, Katherine (1980) Unions and children's services: a report on a project in Footscray. Australian Council of Trade Unions.

WEIL, M. W. (1961) 'An analysis of the factors influencing married women's actual or planned work participation'. *American Sociological Review*, vol. 26, pp. 91-96.

WILENSKY, H. (1970) 'Work, careers and social integration' in Tom BURNS ed., *Industrial man: selected readings*. Penguin, Harmondsworth, pp. 110-139.

WILLIAMS, Trevor, BATTEN, Margaret, GIRLING-BUTCHER, Sue and CLANCY, Jeff, (1981) School and work in prospect: 14 year-olds in Australia. Australian Council of Educational Research, *ACER Research Monograph no. 10*, Hawthorn.

WINDSCHUTTLE, K. (1979) *Unemployment*. Penguin, Ringwood.

WINETT, F. A. and MEALE, M. S. (1980) 'Result of experimental study on flexitime and family life'. *Monthly Labor Review*, no. 103, pp. 29-32.

WRIGHT, A., HEADLAM, F., FITZGERALD, R. and OZOLINS, U. (1978) 'Poverty, education and adolescents' in *Outcomes of schooling: aspects of success and failure*, Australian Government Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, Poverty and Education Services, AGPS, Canberra.

Functions of the Institute

The functions of the Institute, as defined by the Family Law Act 1975, are:

- to promote, by the conduct, encouragement and co-ordination of research and other appropriate means, the identification of, and development of understanding of, the factors affecting marital and family stability in Australia, with the object of promoting the protection of the family as the natural and fundamental group unit in society; and
- to advise and assist the Attorney-General in relation to the making of grants, out of moneys available under appropriations made by the Parliament, for purposes related to the functions of the Institute and the supervising of the employment of grants so made.

The Institute's activities centre around meeting the following needs:

- research on social and economic factors affecting the well-being of families of different types in Australian society;
- development of an objective understanding of what is happening to the family in Australia, including identification of the strengths, as well as problems, of Australian families;
- dissemination of information about families and family structures to all those whose work directly affects the lives of families;
- monitoring and reporting on the impact of government policies and administrative practices on families of various types in Australia; and
- evaluation of the effects of marriage counselling, pre-marital education and other services, including those areas of law aimed at assisting families.

Thus the objects of the Institute are essentially practical ones, concerned primarily with learning about real situations through research on Australian families.

The Family Information Centre

As a government research agency the Institute of Family Studies has a major role to play in the collection and publication of information on Australian families. To facilitate and coordinate these information activities, the Institute established the Family Information Centre (FIC). The Centre has three main information programs; publications, library collection, and data base development.

There is a close inter-relation between these three programs. The activity of research leads to the demand not only for a storehouse of relevant information (library collection) from which to draw, but also a current index of Australian research on families (data base development) and a method of dissemination of information about IFS activities, projects and research results (publications). The formalisation of these activities through the FIC means that each of these programs has a service orientation, first to IFS research staff and to others outside the Institute such as researchers, teachers, practitioners in the helping professions, members of other governmental institutions or departments and the interested public.